175 villages, asking them to come and visit the Whites who were with
699 them. The 30 men, wary and afraid that some treachery might be afoot, resolved not to stay long in those parts. They sang the praises of the Whites, asked the Indians to come with them to São Paulo where they would be near their churches and all that was necessary for their salvation, but they did all this deceitfully, in a professional backwoods way. They stirred 3,000 souls. And since the
[241] Indians not long before had changed the site [of their gardens] and the provisions of manioc flour from the plots they had abandoned were almost exhausted, they embarked four days later in 300 canoes
[501] out of the many they owned. On embarking, the 30 men managed to take from them all their bows and arrows. They proceeded up-river, touching ground every day to rest and sleep. Among the 3,000 souls was an Indian woman (who must have been the daughter of one of the seven Frenchmen, whose progeny was numerous), the wife of the son of a certain chief who had followed our men. This woman (who had been neatly endowed by nature, according to the informant, with all the parts requisite to a perfect body) was given by the captain to one of his henchmen. The latter, either to rid himself of the worry caused by the presence of the woman's husband, or perhaps to add to it still further, returned the woman to the captain. The wretched Indian was so deeply affected by the usurpation of his rightful matrimony, and the others by the fact that within a few days they would all be separated, that at a certain time and place they got together and rose against the 30 men, killing 16 and a few of the Indians they had taken with them. Satisfied with the death of these men, they turned back toward their villages in the same canoes. The 14 men who got away, but whom the Indians could have killed, proceeded up-river with only two of the aforementioned Caatingas, who either would not or could not follow the other Indians. They reached the São Paulo settlement, which they had left 19 months earlier..."

174 The identification of their language with Lingua-geral [Tr., the Tupi lingua franca] characterizes the "Caatingas" as Tupí. To
[191] my knowledge, there is no evidence of the existence of other Tupí Indians, besides the Tapirapé, along the part of the Araguaia that stretches between its confluence with the Tocantins and the northern part of Bananal Island. We must take into account, however, that

1:Baldus--13 E-6 (1935, 1947) 1944-1949 SP22 Tapirapé SP22

101 relatively close to this confluence, that is to say, to the north of
174 it, there lived such Tupí tribes as the Anambé of the lower Tocantins mentioned by Couto de Magalhães (2, 267) and Ehrenreich (1 and 3, IV), the Maranjé of the Araguaya River studied by Nimuendajú (2), and the Urubú cited by Rice and Raimundo Lopes (2).

[98:108] The fact that the "Castingas" owned many canoes
101 does not rule in any way against their identification with the
30/ Tapirapé. The latter, although at present they are not navigators
174 like their neighbors the Karajá [Caraja] or the old-time Tupinambá, still retain the Tupí word for canoe, yaua in Tapirapé pronunciation. Furthermore, in 1935, I saw on the Tampinima village stream a tree trunk hollowed out in the shape of a dugout. It is true that apparently it had been made just for fun, since it lay with the opening facing downward and was not used as a boat even in play. This, however, does not make it unlikely that the Tapirapé should have owned many traveling canoes in former times.

101 Castinga, a Tupí word consisting of caí, "bush," and tinga,
174 "white, whitened," may refer to the region inhabited at the time
[197] by the Indians of that name, for it is known that the forests of gnarled, stunted trees that shed nearly all of their leaves during the dry season, forests called catingas or matos sêcos [dry bush], extend to the north of the state of Goiás (cf. Bernardino José de Souza 120-121). In any case, this designation does not rule against the identification of the "Castingas" Indians with the Tapirapé or any other tribe with a different name. [Ed., the remainder of this page and part of the first paragraph on p. 110 are omitted.]

[98:110] The Tapirapé appear in the eighteenth century as
101 "Tapuyrapé" and "Tapirasse," in the nineteenth century as "Tappiraques" and "Tapirapeques" and in the twentieth century as "Itapirapés," there being even a street by this name in the city of São Paulo (see Airosa 2, 152). This leads us to assume that the name of the tribe changed over these four centuries in accordance with variations in pronunciation. In any case, I agree with the
101 opinion of Nimuendajú (ibid. [letter of October 12, 1935]) accord-
114 ing to whom it is more probable that the "Pirapêz" of Bento Maciel
174 Parente [cited apud Mendes de Almeida II, 35-37] should be

1: Baldus--14 E-6 (1935, 1947) 1944-1949 SP22 Tapirapé SP22

identified with the Tapirapé, than that there should have existed in the Tocantins basin two different tribes with such similar names. [Ed., the last half of p. 110 and the first half of p. 111 are omitted.]

[98:111] Assuming, now, that the "Coatingar" and "Pirapés" were the seventeenth century ancestors of the Tapirapé, which is not impossible in the case of the former and probable in the case of the latter, it must be admitted that the Tapirapé reached their present habitat from the north.

The hypothesis in favor of such an origin is strengthened further by the statements made to me by the Tapirapé themselves. They say that they lived formerly to the north of Conceição and closer to the Araguaia than today, but that they gradually moved farther south out of fear of the Kayapó [Cayapo] and farther west out of fear of the Karajá. They add, however, that they never lived south of the Tapirapé River, which is the southern boundary of their present territory. It is interesting to note, in this connection, that the inhabitants of Tampiitíua maintained continuous relations with another Tapirapé village located "ten days' march to the north," and therefore, in any case, at a considerable distance, while they had no contact whatever with their supposed neighbors to the southwest, the so-called Ampaneí, who apparently are also Tupí and who are much less distant from Tampiitíua than that northern Tapirapé village. It is possible that the Ampaneí and Tapirapé reached their present habitats from different directions, or that the former got there long before the Tapirapé became their neighbors.

[98:112] Kissenberth (2, 40-41, 75-78) believes it possible that the potsherds he found on the Morro dos Cayapós [Hill of the Cayapo], located in the hinterland west of Conceição do Araguaia and almost at the same latitude as this locality, are products of the Tapirapé ceramic industry (see ibid., 37, map). Stating that he is not familiar with Tapirapé pottery, the same author goes on to say (ibid., 77): "Even a cursory comparison of these fragments with the ceramics and potsherds of South American peoples forcibly suggests the Tupí-Guaraní." Regarding this, I must say that I did not encounter among present-day Tapirapé pottery the ornamentation found on these potsherds.

114 174 Kissenberth (ibid., 41) states in further support of the assumption that the Tapirapé came to their present habitat from the north: "The first right-hand tributaries of some importance on the Itacaiunas River bear the legitimate Tupí names of Katetê and Tapirapé. As the Mẽkubenokrê-Kayapó relate, there lives at the present time, right in that virgin forest area at the headwaters of the Itacaiunas, an anthropophagous people, the Kubẽnépre (meaning 'Bat Indians'), who according to their description must belong to the Tupí group." These arguments, though interesting, are rather weak at the present stage. [Ed., the remainder of p. 112, pp. 113-122, and the first half of p. 123 are omitted.]

[178] [98:123] According to repeated statements made to me by the Tapirapé, their tribe, although in the past it lived closer to the Araguaia than today, never crossed this river and never lived to the east of it. This, however, does not make me doubt the veracity of Cunha Mattos when he writes of Bananal Island (2, 392-393): "The island is inhabited by Javahés and Carajás Indians, and occasionally by Carajahys, Xambioás [Shamboia], Tapirapés, Gradaús, and other barbarians..." Since this author's Chorographia [Chorography] bears the date of 1824, it is quite possible that after several generations had elapsed the Tapirapé lost recall of those "occasional settlements."

In addition, Dr. William Lipkind, the North American ethnologist who worked on Bananal Island in 1938 and 1939, told me that he obtained the following information from the Karajá of Santa Isabel, Fontoura, and other locations: in the past there were Tapirapé living with the Javahé, that is, in the interior of Bananal Island. In setting fire once to a stretch [648] of grassland, they [the Tapirapé] burned the village of those Indians. Then the Javahé chased them away. The Tapirapé crossed the Araguaia a little to the north of Mato Verde, and thus not too far from the mouth of the Tapirapé River. This happened some 70 or 100 years ago.

114 173 174 After having visited the Tapirapé in Wagley's company, Dr. Lipkind wrote to me (letter of September 10, 1939): "The Tapirape themselves say that they learnt the masked dances [98:124] -- the most marked cultural similarity with

the Caraja -- from the 'irewẽhẽ,' who, I take it, are the Javahe, 'ijewehe' in Caraja. Near the Javahe village of Imõnci I was shown a Tapirape cemetery. The Javahe tradition there is that they lived in the same village with the Tapirape, and I was shown the site" [cited in English].

Considering that the inhabitants of Tampiitáua bury the dead inside the house in which they lived before death, it is proper to inquire whether the Tapirapé also used this burial method when they were living with the Javahé, in which case the "cemetery" seen by Lipkind must have been the remnants of a village, or whether these representatives of the Tupí tribe proceeded in completely different fashion, performing, like the Karajá, the so-called "secondary burial," that is to say, burying the corpse in a cemetery, then exhuming the bones after the flesh had putrefied and laying them in large urns which were again buried at a common place.

Lipkind adds in the same letter: "You may be interested to know that in the innermost Javahe villages there are some distinctly Tapirape types, short stature, lighter coloring, face-cast. My camarada Antonio Pereira, who was not aware of my preoccupation with Tapirape relations, noticed it and pointed out the resemblance" [cited in English]. [Ed., the last half of p. 124 and most of p. 125 are omitted.]

[98:125] To conclude, it may be said with Cunha Mattos that the Tapirapé were on Bananal Island "occasionally," that is to say, that certain groups of their tribe were there transitorily and probably over 100 years ago. The presence of "Tapirapé types" among the Javahé may also be explained by the numerous Tapirapé women "imported" by the Karajá.

In any case, the inhabitants of Tampiitáua knew nothing of ancestral migrations toward the east, such as those, for example, of the Guaraní who kept searching for the [98:126] "land without evil" (cf. Nimuendajú 1 and Métraux 1 and 3). As far as I was able to ascertain, the Tapirapé were ignorant of the existence of the sea. They did not even recall being told about it by the Whites or by the Karajá. Apparently, there was no reference to the ocean in the tribal traditions either.

The Tapirapé knew of a great river to the west, however, which they called pananí-chingebó or chingbó. It is possible

823 [173] that they may have heard this word from Whites talking about the Xingu. As I was told in Tampiitáua, no Tapirapé had seen that chinghó river except for one single youth "who was there once, about 20 years ago." I could not obtain any further information about the life or death of this traveler. It may be that he accompanied Valadar, the Karajá famed for his exploring journeys, who visited the Tapirapé in 1911 with Alfredo de Oliveira of Ceará. The Tapirapé Kamairahó indeed told me that Valadar had taken a few of them along when he made a trip to the Xingu at that time. It may be that only one of those Tapirapé actually got to see the great river, perhaps only that single youth of which they spoke to me in the village. Be that as it may, by what I know of the cultures of the upper Xingu tribes and that of the Tapirapé, it is unquestionable that the latter did not come to their present habitat from the west.

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Everything indicates, in fact, that they have lived since the eighteenth century in the hinterland of the left bank of the Tapirapé, or in other words, in the northern part of this river basin. [Ed., the last paragraph, which concludes the section in Vol. 98, is omitted.]

Chapter 3

[99:63] Contact with the Whites

175 [648] Both Tapirapé and Karajá call the Whites torf. [Ed., the remainder of p. 63, p. 64, and most of p. 65 are omitted.]

[99:65] The contact of the Tapirapé with the Whites during the seventeenth century is neither more nor less uncertain than the identification of these Tupí Indians with the "Caatingas" and "Pirapés." We must assume, however, that White men visited the Tapirapé in their present habitat in the course of the following century. This is implied not only by the path of [99:66] the pioneers indicated by a dotted line on the eighteenth century map, but also by a reference cited by Ehrenreich (2, 88), according to which these Indians had contact with

175 colonists on the Tapirapé River in the eighteenth century. [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph is omitted.]

113 Numerous nineteenth century authors refer to the Tapirapé.
175 I have already mentioned what Silva e Sousa said in 1812, Pizarro e Araujo in 1822, Cunha Mattos in 1824, Eschwege in 1830, Ayres de Cazal in 1833, Milliet de Saint-Adolphe in 1845, Monteiro Baena in 1847, Saint-Hilaire in 1848, and Alencastre in 1864. There is also the following reference, the Roteiro da viagem que fez o capitão Francisco de Paula Ribeiro às fronteiras da capitania do Maranhão e da de Goyaz no anno de 1815 [Itinerary of the journey made by Captain Francisco de Paula Ribeiro to the boundaries of the province of Maranhão and of Goiás in the year 1815], in which the Tapirapé are mentioned (37) as one of the "barbarous and intractable nations" who inhabit the "basin of the Tocantins."

Concerning two maps of the period, Kissenberth writes (2,
176 41): "The map of Brazil by C.F. Klöden, which appeared in 1817, mentions the Indians Tapirapeques north of a tributary of the Araguaia, which corresponds to the present-day Tapirapé River. A. Brué's 1826 map also mentions Tapirapeques north of the tributary of the Araguaia which is now called the Farto River. This map shows a Tapirapé River north of Bananal Island, approximately below the ninth degree. Tapirapé Indian dwellings are to be found south of this left tributary of the Araguaia."

114 On Table 28 of Balbi's Atlas ethnographique [Ethnographic Atlas] (Paris, 1826), in which Ferdinand Denis deals with "Langues
●174 de la région Guarani-Brésileinne [Languages of the Guarani region of Brazil]" and which reveals the state of progress of Brazilian ethnography in the first half of the last century, Tapirapé is not listed in the "Guarani Family" which includes the "East-Guarani [99:67] or Brazilian, also called Tupi and Lingoa-Geral." We read only that there is a "Tappiraques [spoken] by the Tappiraques or Tappirapes. In the province of Mato Grosso they occupy a large part of the Tappiraquia district, to which they have lent their name and where they are found in greater numbers than any other savage group" [translated from French]. The Tapirapé language is missing from the vocabularies of Table 41 ("Tableau polyglotte des langues américaines [Polyglot Table of American Languages]") in the same atlas. Actually, the fact that Tapirapé was not included

114 in the Guaraní-Tupí family makes it probable that it was unknown
● 174 at the time, not only to scholars, but possibly even to the Brazilian frontiersmen. It is to be supposed that the latter would have recognized it as akin to the Lingua-Geral, which was much more widely known by "civilized" or "Christian" people over 100 years ago than it is now. The lack of contact which may be inferred from the above-mentioned unfamiliarity is made understandable by the observation of the contemporaneous Cazal [I, 259] that the "Tappiraquia" region is unexplored "except for its eastern boundary along the Araguaia."

175 The first volume of Pohl's work (I, 341), which appeared in
[648] 1832, contains the information, also included in the Memoria [Memoir] written by Silva e Sousa in 1812, that the capitão-mor [Tr., military officer in charge of local militia] João de Godoy Pinto da Silveira had imprisoned 100 "Tapirapéz" who all died in Vila-Boa.

Castelnau (II, 114) says that in 1844, when he went down the Araguaia, he was told about the existence of a village "of Tapirapé, which is located in the province of Mato Grosso, at the approximate latitude of the northern tip of Bananal Island, on a large stream which flows into the Furo River from the left" [translated from French].

In his classical outline of Brazilian tribes published in 1867, Martius (2, I, 205) includes the Tapirapé with the "Central Tupí," although he does not provide a Tapirapé vocabulary in his "Glossarios de diversas lingoas e dialectos, que fallão os Indios no imperio do Brazil [Glossary of the various languages and dialects spoken by the Indians of the Empire of Brazil]" (2, II). Furthermore, giving as his source the Diccionario [Dictionary] of Milliet de Saint-Adolphe, he lists (2, I, 205) the Tapirapé, "who are said, according to one tradition, to have come from Rio de Janeiro," as inhabitants of the "Tapirapés River (a western tributary of the Araguaia)." Since Martius gives no reason for classi-
[114] fying the Tapirapé as Tupí, it is to be assumed that he was familiar with the data of Souza Villa Real concerning the names of eight "prominent" Tapirapé, while apparently these data were not taken into account by the linguistic study of Ferdinand Denis since they were published 22 years later, in 1848.

175 Moraes Jardim (24), who explored the Araguaia in 1879, writes as follows about the Tapirapé River: "The steamship Araguaya, under the [99:68] command of the late Lieutenant Balduino, ascended this river about ten leagues from its mouth to a harbor of the Tapirapé Indians without encountering any difficulties. When he reached this point, the captain sent a few scouts to the village, which stood some distance from the river. The Indians, however, sensed their approach and ran away, and the captain achieved nothing more than a reconnaissance of this section of the river."

João Severiano de Fonseca (I, 90) refers to this ascent of the Tapirapé River as follows: "The worthy Commander Balduino de Aguiar, so well known for his heroic deeds in the battles of the Coimbra Fortress and in others on the Paraguay River and at São Lourenço, ascended this river in 1868 for about 50 kilometers in a small steamer, the Araguaya, which Mr. Couto de Magalhães had brought in from Cuiabá to explore the river, whose name it adopted."

[131] At that time, therefore, the Tapirapé lived closer to the Araguaia than today.

Moraes Jardim also writes (34): "The Tapirapés have built their villages on the banks of the river of the same name. It is said that they are gentle Indians, more industrious than the others, but we have not had any contact with them so far."

•[174] There must have been indirect contact between the Tapirapé and the Whites at that time, however, probably through the Karajá, for aside from the above-mentioned notice concerning their gentleness and industriousness, we read the following concerning quartz lip ornaments in an article about the Karajá written by Aristides de Souza Spínola and included in the pamphlet by Moraes Jardim (40): "In the course of my journey I saw only one common Indian [ornament] of this sort. I possess two in my small Indian chest received from the Tapirapés, who inhabit the banks of the river of the same name, a tributary of the Araguaia."

Ehrenreich, who went down the Araguaia in 1888, says in 1891 (2, 88): "The Araguaia River region is inhabited by the Tapirapé, who in truth have not yet been visited by any traveler, but who already had contact with the colonists in the past century." Like Martius, he includes these Indians with the "Central Tupí"

(cf. Photos. 5, 25, 69). This may corroborate the conjecture of the evolutionist Von den Steinen (2, 192) that the waist cord formerly had the function of the penis sheath. Among present-day Tapirapé this cord may be regarded, along with the tembetá, as a prerogative of the males. It is rarely used to carry [105:88] things. Occasionally they will hang a comb from it, or in recent times a pair of scissors as well.

Dr. Charles Wagley told me that in 1939 he found straps for carrying children that were worn by the Tapirapé women over the shoulder and across the chest. In 1937, Dominican missionaries had gone up the Tapirapé River with large quantities of fabrics. The straps were made of those fabrics. It is interesting to note that in 1935 there were no such objects in existence. It is interesting because it would have been possible to carry the children in small hammocks. Furthermore, I had given away many pieces of cloth which could have been used as straps for carrying children. Such straps not only are used by the neighboring Kayapó (Krause, 2, 394) but are also a typical cultural trait of the Tupí Indians. [Ed., two sentences are omitted.] It is worth noting, however, that straps for carrying children are not used by the eastern neighbors of the Tapirapé, that is to say, the Karajá (Krause 2, 276 and Plates 12, 37, and 42).

In the case of the Tapirapé, it was apparently the numerous pieces of fabric brought by the Dominicans in 1937 that played a decisive role in the introduction of straps for carrying children. In 1935, all the fabrics and cloth articles coming from our factories had a merely decorative function among those Indians. The men alone used them, since most adornments are prerogatives of their sex and such impressive ornaments as those made of feathers and claws are worn only by them. Kamairahó, the most important chief, liked best of all to wear a red dress which his wife had received as a gift. Thus, the aim the giver had in mind, probably inspired by catechizing hopes, was missed entirely for the lady remained altogether naked while her husband was covered down to the knees and below. It is worth noting, however, that in the evening, when Kamairahó retired, he would undress and carefully fold the garment. Thus, at an hour when every protection against the mosquitoes and the cold would have seemed to me exceedingly

171 the new layer of charcoal, and repeat this until the tree is felled."
241 [Ed., a paragraph is omitted.]

[113:194] I do not know whether the Tapirapé used the method described by Stradelli. I heard that they felled large trees by setting up a fire beneath the roots. If this is confirmed by the vestiges of carbonization on the roots of fallen trunks and in the holes lying around them, which were still visible in the old plots in 1935, not much time would have elapsed since fire was used for this purpose. Considering that the Tapirapé have owned
[177] iron axes for dozens of years, it should then be assumed that fire was used in connection with these products of our civilization.

In any case, I did not find stone axes among the Tapirapé,
174 nor did I find anyone in Tampiitaua who had used them, or anyone
412 who had found similar implements at sites formerly occupied by the tribe. Of course, there is no doubt that the Tapirapé did possess them in the past, and they may have been as small as those of the Ampaneá, according to the Tapirapé. It is certain, however, that
174 several generations ago the Tapirapé obtained iron objects
412 (itanchoa, "iron," "glass," from ita, "stone," and choa, "yellow")
439 through the Karajá, and not only axes, but bush knives as well (kychê-eté, from kychê, "knife," and eté, "real," an augmentative, the term kichê being already mentioned in the Vocabulário da Língua Brasílica [Vocabulary of the Indigenous Brazilian Language] as quigce, by Montoya as quicé [author: i= y in our spelling], and
[177] by Stradelli as kicé). It is worth noting that the Tapirapé, who have used metal cutting tools for so long, cannot bring themselves to sharpen them, although this procedure has already been taught to them several times by the Whites, who also offered them sharpening stones. This is an illustration of the fact that the acceptance of foreign cultural traits does not necessarily imply the acceptance of all the procedures connected with them.

On July 30, I witnessed the felling of some trees, carried out
241 as a collective endeavor called apachirũ by the Tapirapé (the
476 puchirum of the frontiersmen in the states of Pará and Amazonas). The leader, Tanuapanchoa, marked out the forest sections to be cleared by going to those places without saying a word and attacking a tree with his ax. He showed that he was the leader by working more than the others. The other men selected their own trees around his as they pleased. They incised the small ones and finally

171 and cauí [a soup]. The fresh, grated manioc, after being dried
252 in the sun, put through the sifter, and roasted in a clay pot, yields the flour that goes into the making of certain dishes and that accompanies others by being tossed straight into the mouth with the hand. The Tupinambá had these three ways of consuming manioc, that is to say, the cake, the more or less fermented liquid varying in consistency between a porridge and a soup, and the flour which is added to other foods either in the pot or in the mouth (cf. Soares de Sousa 189 and 196; Simão de Vasconcellos, pp. LXXXV, CXXIX, and CXXX; and others).

Like the Tapirapé and many other tribes, those ancient inhabitants of the coast grated or pounded the manioc roots, dried them in the sun, ran the particles through a sifter, and roasted them in pots over the fire. The only notable difference in the procedures used in making the tubers edible was in the manner of wringing the grated mass of "wild manioc" to extract its poisonous juice. While Hans Staden (q 2) found the tipiti among the Tupinambá of the capitania [Tr., province] of São Vicente, and Gabriel Soares de Sousa (189) found it among the Tupinambá of Bahia, this press of braided palm leaves shaped like a tube or bag (cf. Baldus and Willems 219-220) was not mentioned by the French authors who visited Indians of the same name in other parts of Brazil in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries (cf. Métraux 2, 104). Claude d'Abbeville (304) says specifically of the Tupinambá of Maranhão that "they take all the gratings from these roots and squeeze them with their hands..." [translated from French]. The
●[174] use of the same procedure and the absence of tipiti among the Tapirapé are, therefore, corroborative of the assumption that these Indians came from Maranhão. [Ed., the remainder of p. 186, p. 187, and the first paragraph of p. 188 are omitted.]

[114:188] One variety of "sweet manioc" cultivated by the
262 Tapirapé, called vuaykyra, reaches more than 30 centimeters in
824 circumference and more than half a meter in length. I ate it frequently and with pleasure, boiled or roasted in the embers.

[252] Other tubers that I tried among the Tapirapé, roasted in the same manner, were from the following plants: (1) a variety of sweet potato (Ipomoea batatas Lam., chetyka in Tapirapé), orange-colored inside and almost like pumpkin in taste; (2) purple cará (Dioscorea spec., urukú-ampaá in Tapirapé), purple inside, shaped

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2. (cont.)
Araguay and Tocantins, were in the habit of swimming across the Furo during the dry season and plundering the plantings of the Karajá. They needed only to blow the trumpets, and already the Karajá fled. As a result, the latter did not dare visit their plantings and hence suffered from lack of food. Fonseca, when the Chavánte had again broken into the plantings, undertook an expedition against them and surprised them; they fled, leaving behind their weapons and their plunder. The Karajá had held back in cowardly fashion, but now boasted about being the victors. This was the first time that the Chavánte had fled before them; until then, the opposite had always occurred. -- And it seems to be so still today.

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About the Cherénte (ĭnŏlṓtŭ) I was able to obtain only the not very credible information that they eat the excrement of human beings, even their own, putting it into their mouths with a brush-like stick that has been beaten flat. Perhaps this is merely a story that has arisen from the hostility and conceit of the Karajá.

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/342/ The Canoeiros (tĭăbĕzā́) (1) live on the east shore,

1. According to Cunha Mattos, the Canoeiros are the descendants of the Carijos, who were brought along from São Paulo as auxiliary troops and workmen by the discoverer of Goyaz, Bartholomão Bueno; they deserted in 1725, displaced the Chavánte, and settled in the high mountains between Maranhão, Santa Thereza, and Amaro Leite on the left bank of the Tocantins above Porto Real. They were supposed to be only 300 warriors strong, but were feared because of their brutality (Rev.

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[113]

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WORLD VIEW OF THE TAPIRAPE INDIANS

By Charles Wagley

The Tapirape live in Central Brazil north of the Tapirape River, a western affluent of the Araguaya River. They are a Tupi-speaking people isolated from other peoples speaking the same language. Culturally they are related more closely to the Tupi-speaking people of the coast than to those of the head waters of the Xingu River. The only peoples with whom they have had contacts within historic times are their northern neighbors, the Gês-speaking Northern Kayapo and the Carajá (including the Javahe branch) of the Araguaya. Because of hostility with both these neighboring peoples, the Tapirape have withdrawn farther from the Araguaya and have contacts at present with the Carajá only through occasional European visitors. Introduced disease, acquired from these visitors and earlier from the Carajá, have reduced the Tapirape from five large villages (originally more than two hundred per village) to one with less than 150 people. Contacts with Europeans, however, have been short and few, leaving the Tapirape aboriginal culture little changed.

According to Tapirape tradition, they came to their present home from the north and east.[1] One group of them lived on the Araguaya and for a time shared a common village with the Javahe branch of the Carajá. The Tapirape are traditionally interested in country to the east, not to the west. It is to the east that Maratawa, the "home of the gods," lies, and in this direction, too, is the home of two legendary peoples: the Wanchira, a cannibalistic tribe which ate a famous mythical ancestor of the Tapirape, and the "other Tapirape," speaking the same language and sharing the same culture. East of the Araguaya River there is said to be another large river and great mountains where various supernaturals live.

Formerly, Tapirape who were captives of the Carajá returned to tell of that country and people, and in modern times Tapirape have visited both Carajá and Kayapo, as well as various Brazilian settlements on the Araguaya. No foreign or hostile tribes prevent them from wandering westward into the open country toward the Xingu River, but it is a region of little interest to them, and they never travel far in this direction. Of the Xingu River and people, they know only what Brazilian visitors have told

[1] According to Métraux, the Tapirape were known to have been on the Araguaya as early as the 18th century. He believes the Tapirape to be fugitives from the coast of Brazil, probably from the vicinity of Rio, possibly from the Tamoyo. Certainly they came from the east, but my material points to a migration from the northeast rather than from the southeast, as would be the case if migration had been from the forests of Rio. Métraux, Alfred, Migrations Historiques des Tupi-Guarani, *Journal de la Société des Américanistes de Paris, N.S. 19*, 24 (1927).